

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 GENEVA 05107 01 OF 03 051841Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00
INRE-00 ACDE-00 /026 W
-----128762 051848Z /42
P 051824Z APR 78
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8031
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION USNATO

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 03 GENEVA 05107

EXDIS

USSALTTWO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF APRIL 5, 1978
(SALT TWO-1678)

SEMENOV STATEMENT, APRIL 5, 1978

- I

IN THE COURSE OF THE ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN
THE DELEGATIONS THE QUESTION OF LIMITATIONS ON AIR-TO-
SURFACE BALLISTIC MISSILES (ASBMS) WITH A RANGE IN EXCESS
OF 600 KILOMETERS HAS BEEN DISCUSSED AT LENGTH AND IN
DETAIL.

AS YOU KNOW, THE SOVIET SIDE'S POSITION OF PRINCIPLE
IS THAT, UNDER THE TREATY BEING WORKED OUT, EFFECTIVE
LIMITATIONS SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED WHICH WOULD BE A NEW AND
IMPORTANT STEP IN THE PROCESS OF CURBING THE RACE IN
STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, STRENGTHENING STRATEGIC
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 GENEVA 05107 01 OF 03 051841Z

STABILITY AND REDUCING THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR.

GUIDED BY THIS APPROACH, THE SOVIET UNION, FROM THE
VERY BEGINNING, HAS CONSISTENTLY URGED RESTRAINT IN THE
DEVELOPMENT OF NEW TYPES OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS AND
THEIR PROHIBITION ON THE BASIS OF THE AGREED PRINCIPLE OF
EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY.

TO THIS END, AT THE NEGOTIATIONS THE SOVIET SIDE HAS TABLED SPECIFIC PROPOSALS TO BAN THE DEVELOPMENT, TESTING AND DEPLOYMENT OF LONG-RANGE AIR-TO-SURFACE BALLISTIC MISSILES.

DURING PREPARATION OF THE DRAFT OF THE NEW TREATY AND THE PROTOCOL THERETO, THE SOVIET SIDE TABLED A PROPOSAL THAT DEVELOPMENT, TESTING AND DEPLOYMENT OF MULTIPLE INDEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE REENTRY VEHICLES FOR AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILES--BOTH BALLISTIC AND CRUISE MISSILES--BE BANNED FOR THE ENTIRE TERM OF THE TREATY BEING NEGOTIATED, THROUGH 1985.

THE SOVIET SIDE CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT INCORPORATION OF SUCH AN APPROACH IN THE PROVISIONS OF THE DOCUMENT BEING WORKED OUT WOULD BEST MEET THE AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS.

BEARING IN MIND THE CONSIDERATIONS SET FORTH, THE SOVIET SIDE AGREED TO INCLUDE ASBMS IN THE RELEVANT LIMITATIONS OF THE NEW TREATY WHEN BOMBERS ARE EQUIPPED WITH THEM.

THE PROPOSALS FOR LIMITATIONS ON ASBMS, INCLUDING THOSE TABLED BY THE U.S. DELEGATION AT THE JANUARY 24, 1978 MEETING, HAVE BEEN EXAMINED.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 GENEVA 05107 01 OF 03 051841Z

I HEREBY STATE THAT, CONTINGENT UPON THE NEW TREATY PROVIDING THAT ONLY BOMBERS MAY BE EQUIPPED FOR ASBMS, THE SOVIET SIDE IS WILLING TO REACH AGREEMENT, IN ARTICLE IV OF THE PROTOCOL, ON A PROVISION NOT TO FLIGHT-TEST ASBMS AND NOT TO DEPLOY SUCH MISSILES DURING ITS TERM.

IT IS NOT HARD TO UNDERSTAND THAT THIS CONSTITUTES A MAJOR STEP IN THE CONSTRUCTIVE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS.

- II

PROCEEDING FROM THE DESIRE TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THE PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT OF THE NEW TREATY AND THE PROTOCOL THERETO ON A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE BASIS, THE USSR DELEGATION, PURSUANT TO INSTRUCTIONS, HEREWITH TABLES A COMPREHENSIVE PROPOSAL ENSURING FULL RESOLUTION OF THE ASBM ISSUE IN THE DRAFT BEING NEGOTIATED.

WE PROPOSE THAT ARTICLE IV OF THE PROTOCOL TO THE

TREATY BE AGREED IN THE FOLLOWING WORDING:

"ARTICLE IV OF THE PROTOCOL TO THE TREATY

EACH PARTY UNDERTAKES NOT TO FLIGHT-TEST OR DEPLOY
ASBMS."

SINCE THE ISSUES INCLUDED IN ARTICLE IV OF THE
PROTOCOL WILL BE CONSIDERED DURING THE SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIA-
TIONS, AND THE SIDES SHARE THE VIEW THAT UNLESS THEY AGREE

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 GENEVA 05107 02 OF 03 051848Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00
DODE-00 ACDE-00 /026 W
-----128844 051850Z /41

P 051824Z APR 78

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8032

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION USNATO

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 03 GENEVA 05107

EXDIS

USSALTTWO

BY THE EXPIRATION DATE OF THE PROTOCOL THAT THEY WILL
CONTINUE NOT TO FLIGHT-TEST OR DEPLOY ASBMS, IT WOULD BE
ADVISABLE TO REACH AGREEMENT ON A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE
BASIS ON THE RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT TREATY
GOVERNING THE COUNTING OF ASBMS IN THE APPROPRIATE
AGGREGATE NUMBERS OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, AND ON
THE DEFINITION OF ASBMS AS WELL AS ASBMS EQUIPPED WITH
MIRVS.

IN THIS CONNECTION, WE PROPOSE THE FOLLOWING AGREED
STATEMENT TO ARTICLES III AND V OF THE DRAFT TREATY:

"AGREED STATEMENT TO ARTICLES III AND V OF THE TREATY

THE PARTIES AGREE THAT, AFTER THE DATE ON WHICH
THE PROTOCOL CEASES TO BE IN FORCE, ASBMS SHALL BE
INCLUDED IN THE RELEVANT AGGREGATE NUMBERS OF STRATEGIC

OFFENSIVE ARMS AS PROVIDED FOR BY THE PROVISIONS OF
ARTICLES III AND V, UNLESS THE PARTIES AGREE THAT ASBMS
WILL NOT BE DEPLOYED AFTER THAT DATE."

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 GENEVA 05107 02 OF 03 051848Z

ACCORDINGLY, WE PROPOSE THE FOLLOWING REVISED WORDING
FOR THE DEFINITION OF ASBMS IN ARTICLE II, PAR. 4, OF THE
DRAFT TREATY:

"PARAGRAPH 4 OF ARTICLE II OF THE TREATY

AIR-TO-SURFACE BALLISTIC MISSILES CAPABLE OF A
RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS (ASBMS) ARE ANY SUCH
MISSILES INSTALLED IN AN AIRCRAFT OR ON ITS EXTERNAL
MOUNTINGS."

WE ARE ALSO TABLING, AS PARAGRAPH 6 OF ARTICLE II OF
THE DRAFT TREATY, A PROPOSED DEFINITION OF ASBMS EQUIPPED
WITH MIRVS AS WELL AS A PROPOSED AGREED STATEMENT TO THIS
PARAGRAPH:

"PARAGRAPH 6 OF ARTICLE II OF THE TREATY

ASBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS ARE ALL ASBMS OF THE TYPES
WHICH HAVE BEEN TESTED WITH MIRVS."

"AGREED STATEMENT TO PARAGRAPH 6 OF ARTICLE II
OF THE TREATY

THE PARTIES AGREE THAT ASBMS OF THE TYPES WHICH HAVE
BEEN TESTED WITH MIRVS ARE ALL ASBMS OF THE TYPES WHICH
HAVE BEEN FLIGHT-TESTED WITH TWO OR MORE INDEPENDENTLY
TARGETABLE REENTRY VEHICLES, REGARDLESS OF WHETHER OR NOT
THEY HAVE ALSO BEEN FLIGHT-TESTED WITH A SINGLE REENTRY
VEHICLE OR WITH MULTIPLE REENTRY VEHICLES WHICH ARE NOT
INDEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE."

IN THIS CONNECTION, IT IS ENVISAGED THAT THE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 GENEVA 05107 02 OF 03 051848Z

DEFINITION OF CRUISE MISSILES WOULD BECOME PARAGRAPH 7
WHILE THE DEFINITION OF HEAVY ICBMS WOULD BECOME PARA-
GRAPH 8 OF THIS ARTICLE.

ACCORDINGLY, WE PROPOSE THAT REFERENCES TO ASBMS
EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS BE INCLUDED IN THE WORDING OF

ARTICLE V, PARS. 1 AND 2, OF THE DRAFT TREATY, AND THAT
THESE PARAGRAPHS BE AGREED IN THE FOLLOWING WORDING:

"PARAGRAPHS 1 AND 2 OF ARTICLE V OF THE TREATY

1. WITHIN THE AGGREGATE NUMBERS PROVIDED FOR IN
PARAGRAPHS 1 AND 2 OF ARTICLE III, EACH PARTY UNDERTAKES
TO LIMIT LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS AND SLBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS,
ASBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS, AND HEAVY BOMBERS EQUIPPED FOR
CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600
KILOMETERS TO AN AGGREGATE NUMBER NOT TO EXCEED 1,320.

2. WITHIN THE AGGREGATE NUMBER PROVIDED FOR IN
PARAGRAPH 1 OF THIS ARTICLE, EACH PARTY UNDERTAKES TO
LIMIT LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS AND SLBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS,
AND ASBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS TO AN AGGREGATE NUMBER NOT
TO EXCEED 1,250."

IN THE LIGHT OF THE PROVISION THAT ONLY BOMBERS MAY
BE EQUIPPED FOR ASBMS AND TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE
EXCHANGE OF VIEWS HELD, WE PROPOSE THE FOLLOWING WORDING
FOR ARTICLE III, PAR. 4, OF THE TREATY:

"PARAGRAPH 4 OF ARTICLE III OF THE TREATY

FOR EACH BOMBER EQUIPPED FOR ASBMS, THE AGGREGATE
NUMBERS PROVIDED FOR IN PARAGRAPHS 1 AND 2 OF THIS ARTICLE
SHALL INCLUDE THE MAXIMUM NUMBER OF SUCH MISSILES FOR
WHICH SUCH A BOMBER IS EQUIPPED FOR ONE OPERATIONAL
MISSION."

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 GENEVA 05107 03 OF 03 051852Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00
INRE-00 ACDE-00 /026 W
-----128854 051859Z /41

P 051824Z APR 78
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8033
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION USNATO

S E C R E T SECTION 03 OF 03 GENEVA 05107

EXDIS

USSALTTWO

WE PROPOSE THAT ARTICLE VI, SUBPAR. 2(B), OF THE
DRAFT TREATY BE WORDED AS FOLLOWS:

"SUBPARAGRAPH 2(B) OF ARTICLE VI OF THE TREATY

2. THOSE ARMS IN THE FINAL STAGE OF CONSTRUCTION
ARE:

(B) ASBMS AFTER A BOMBER EQUIPPED FOR SUCH MISSILES
HAS BEEN BROUGHT OUT OF THE SHOP, PLANT, OR OTHER
FACILITY WHERE ITS FINAL ASSEMBLY OR CONVERSION FOR THE
PURPOSE OF EQUIPPING IT FOR SUCH MISSILES HAS BEEN
PERFORMED;"

PURSUANT TO INSTRUCTIONS, THE USSR DELEGATION ALSO
PROPOSES THAT ARTICLE VIII OF THE DRAFT TREATY BE AGREED
IN THE FOLLOWING WORDING:

"ARTICLE VIII OF THE TREATY

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 GENEVA 05107 03 OF 03 051852Z

THE PARTIES UNDERTAKE NOT TO FLIGHT-TEST CRUISE OR
BALLISTIC MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600
KILOMETERS FROM AIRCRAFT OTHER THAN HEAVY BOMBERS AS
DEFINED IN PARAGRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE II, OR TO CONVERT SUCH
AIRCRAFT FOR EQUIPPING THEM WITH CRUISE AND BALLISTIC
MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS."

TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE SOVIET PROPOSAL TABLED FOR
ARTICLE IV OF THE PROTOCOL, THE USSR DELEGATION PROPOSES
THAT ARTICLE IX, SUBPAR.(E), OF THE DRAFT TREATY BE AGREED
IN THE FOLLOWING WORDING:

"SUBPARAGRAPH (E) OF ARTICLE IX OF THE TREATY

EACH PARTY UNDERTAKES NOT TO DEVELOP, TEST, OR
DEPLOY:

(E) CRUISE MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MULTIPLE
INDEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE WARHEADS."

-

III

THESE NEW SOVIET PROPOSALS WHICH ARE AN INTEGRAL
WHOLE, ARE AN IMPORTANT INITIATIVE ENSURING REAL PROGRESS
IN REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE PROVISIONS OF THE ENTIRE
DOCUMENT UNDER NEGOTIATION. IN THIS CONNECTION, I MUST

EMPHASIZE AGAIN THAT AGREEMENT ON THE AFOREMENTIONED PROVISIONS ON THE BASIS OF THE PROPOSALS TABLED BY THE SOVIET SIDE TODAY IS CONTINGENT UPON THE DOCUMENT UNDER NEGOTIATION PROVIDING THAT ONLY BOMBERS MAY BE EQUIPPED WITH ASBMS, THAT IS THOSE TYPES OF AIRPLANES WHICH ARE SPECIALLY BUILT TO BE EQUIPPED WITH BOMBS OR MISSILES.

WE EXPECT THAT THE U.S. SIDE WILL CAREFULLY STUDY THE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 GENEVA 05107 03 OF 03 051852Z

PROPOSALS TABLED BY THE SOVIET UNION AND WILL REPLY CONSTRUCTIVELY. EARLE

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SPEECHES, SALT (ARMS CONTROL)
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 05 apr 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978GENEVA05107
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780147-0445
Format: TEL
From: GENEVA USSALTTWO
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780491/aaaaczfw.tel
Line Count: 348
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 51fe7cb6-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 16 jun 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3071708
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF APRIL 5, 1978 (SALT TWO-1678) SEMENOV STATEMENT, APRIL 5, 1978
TAGS: PARM, (SEMENOV)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/51fe7cb6-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014